

## Message Text

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14  
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07

NEA-10 SAM-01 SAJ-01 /099 W  
----- 110611

O R 280052Z OCT 76  
FM USMISSION USUN NY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 226  
INFO AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 4810

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, PORG, PARM, UR  
SUBJECT: 31ST UNGA: NON-USE OF FORCE

1. SUMMARY: EC-9, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND AND OTHER FRIENDLY STATES PLAN TO ABSTAIN ON SOVIET DRAFT RESOLUTION, WHILE CHINA, ALBANIA, AND PERHAPS CHILE WILL VOTE AGAINST. SOVIETS HAVE TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO OBTAIN PROPOSALS FOR ACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE FROM EUROPEANS AND OURSELVES. WE WILL MAKE FIRM STATEMENT OCT 28 AM EXPLAINING OUR OBJECTIONS TO THE RESOLUTION. MISSION BELIEVES US COULD EITHER VOTE AGAINST OR ABSTAIN (SEE BELOW FOR ARGUMENTS RE THESE OPTIONS), AND REQUESTS DEPARTMENT INSTRUCTIONS FOR VOTE. COMMITTEE I CHAIRMAN JAROSZEK PLANS TO CONCLUDE THE DEBATE OCT 29 AROUND NOON. END SUMMARY.

2. UK MISOFF REPORTED OCT 27 THAT FRANCE HAS NOW DECIDED TO SUBSCRIBE TO A COMMON EC-9 STATEMENT AGAINST THE SOVIET NUF PROPOSAL. NETHERLANDS, SPEAKING FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE NINE,  
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IS INSCRIBED TO SPEAK THURSDAY AFTERNOON, OCT 28. WE

UNDERSTAND FRANCE AND POSSIBLY UK ALSO INTEND TO MAKE SEPARATE STATEMENTS ELABORATING THEIR POINT OF VIEW AND ARE INSCRIBED OCT 28 AND 29, RESPECTIVELY.

3. REPORTS FROM WESTERN AND OTHER ALLIES INDICATE FAIRLY BROAD, THOUGH UNCOORDINATED DOUBT THAT ANY EFFORT TO AMEND SOVIET RESOLUTION INTO ACCEPTABLE OR IMPROVED SHAPE COULD SUCCEED, OR EVEN IF SUCCESSFUL WOULD PROVIDE A VALID GROUND ON WHICH ALLIES CAN STAND IN RESPONDING TO SOVIET INITIATIVE NEXT YEAR. BOTH UK AND NETHERLANDS REPORTEDLY HAVE RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS NOT TO ENCOURAGE AN AMENDMENT PROCESS AND TO ABSTAIN ON THE VOTE ON THE SOVIET RESOLUTION. WE UNDERSTAND FURTHERMORE THAT THE EC-9 MISSIONS HAVE AGREED ON ABSTENTION. THE JAPANESE REPORT THAT THEY HAVE RECEIVED NO INSTRUCTIONS, AND INDICATED THERE IS SOME SENTIMENT IN TOKYO FOR SUPPORTING THE SOVIET INITIATIVE IN VOTE, THOUGH MAINTAINING A "COOL" POSTURE IN THEIR STATEMENT.

4. BRITISH, CANADIANS AND OTHERS REPORT THAT THE SOVIETS ARE APPROACHING ALL OF THE WESTERN STATES WITH AN APPEAL FOR SUPPORT AND A FORTHRIGHT REQUEST FOR CONCRETE AMENDMENT SUGGESTIONS. ALL HAVE REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE IN SPECIFIC LANGUAGE DISCUSSIONS, ALTHOUGH MOST, LIKE THE BRITISH, HAVE MADE PLAIN THEIR REJECTION OF PREJUDICIAL LANGUAGE IN THE TITLE OF THE ITEM AND THE BODY OF THE RESOLUTION, REFERENCES TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS, ETC. THE UK SAYS THEY UNDERSTAND SOVIETS HAVE INQUIRED OF SEVERAL WHETHER THE U.S. MAY BE EXPECTED TO COME BACK TO THEM WITH SPECIFIC AMENDMENT SUGGESTIONS. THE FRENCH HAVE TOLD KUZNETSOV THEY CANNOT VOTE FOR THE RESOLUTION AS CURRENTLY WORDED BUT WOULD RECONSIDER THE MATTER IF IT WERE REVISED TO CALL FOR A STUDY OF THE IDEA OF A NEED FOR A TREATY. FINALLY, THE SOVIETS OCT 27 APPROACHED MISOFFS TO ASK WHETHER THE U.S. WOULD PRODUCE ITS SUGGESTIONS FOR LANGUAGE CHANGES FOLLOWING GOVERNOR SCRANTON'S MEETING WITH KUZNETSOV OCT 26. OUR OFFICERS HAVE REAFFIRMED SCRANTON'S LINE, UNDERSCORING THE FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE OF THE QUESTION WHETHER SOVIETS COULD ACCEPT A STUDY OF THE NEED FOR A TREATY, AND THEY HAVE BY IMPLICATION DENIED U.S. INTENTION TO GET BACK TO THE SOVIETS WITH NEW LANGUAGE PENDING A REPLY FROM THEM

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ON THE BASIC CONSIDERATION RAISED BY SCRANTON.

5. PRC (AMB HUANG HUA) DELIVERED A SCATHING, TOTAL REJECTION OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL LATE OCT 27. PRC COUNSELOR CHOU NAN CONFIRMED TO POLCOUNS THAT THE PRC WILL INSIST ON A VOTE AND WILL VOTE AGAINST THE RESOLUTION, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER IT IS AMENDED BY THE SOVIETS IN LAST MINUTE EFFORT TO MINIMIZE OPPOSITION. CHINESE HAD GOTTEN WIND OF INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

AMONG WESTERNERS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF AMENDING THE SOVIET TEXT AND WERE CONCERNED. WE TOLD THE CHINESE WE HAD NO VOTING INSTRUCTIONS AS YET, BUT FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO CONCEIVE THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD REMOVE ALL DIFFICULTIES FOR US FROM THE DRAFT RESOLUTION.

6. AT THIS STAGE, WE BELIEVE OUR BEST COURSE WILL BE TO MAKE AN UNEMOTIONAL AND UNCONTENTIOUS BUT DOCUMENTED STATEMENT OF REJECTION OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL. WE ARE INSCRIBED TO SPEAK LATE THURSDAY MORNING, OCT 28. WE BELIEVE THAT THE EC-9 WILL ABSTAIN, AS WILL MOST OF THE REST OF THE MEMBERS OF NATO. AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND WILL ALSO ABSTAIN, AS WILL A CERTAIN NUMBER OF LATIN AMERICANS AND MISCELLANEOUS OTHERS. BOTH COLOMBIA AND CAMEROON HAVE SPOKEN OF POSSIBILITY OF ABSTENTION. A STRONG U.S. POSITION WILL BE ACCEPTED AS APPROPRIATE, UNDERSTANDABLE AND HELPFUL IN HOLDING A NUMBER OF GOVERNMENTS TO THE POINT OF PRINCIPLE. ALLIES (AND THE PRC) ARE GENERALLY INFORMED OF OUR ATTITUDES.

7. THE QUESTION REMAINS OF HOW THE U.S. SHOULD VOTE, EITHER ON THE PRESENT DRAFT RESOLUTION OR AN "IMPROVED" VERSION (IN CASE THE SOVIETS OFFER CHANGES TO MEET THE OBJECTIONS OF THE U.S. AND ALLIES). IN TERMS OF THE RELATIONSHIPS WITH ALLIES AND THE PRC, A NEGATIVE VOTE WOULD SLIGHTLY SURPRISE THE ALLIES AND GRATIFY THE CHINESE. AN ABSTENTION WOULD CONFORM TO GENERAL COMMUNITY EXPECTATIONS AND WOULD NOT DISCOMBOBULATE THE CHINESE, ESPECIALLY WHEN COUPLED WITH OUR STATEMENT, AN ABSTENTION, FURTHERMORE, MIGHT BE AS USEFUL IN CRITICIZING THE SOVIET INITIATIVE, AND IT WOULD REDUCE THE INTENSITY OF SOVIET REACTION WHICH CAN BE EXPECTED.

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8. WE REQUEST DEPARTMENT'S REVIEW OF OUR POSITION AND VOTING INSTRUCTIONS.  
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## Message Attributes

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